597 his, then the sons of the adopting man get this property or that of his wife. But the cousins of the adopted man get nothing. That is to say, the sons of the adopting man
428 will have the responsibility for the expenses with the final funeral ceremonies and so on. And if he has children, it naturally belongs to them. And when any married people have no children, they may take children of both sides, i. e., children of the wife's brothers, or children of her younger sister, children of the husband's younger or elder brothers, take them to themselves as adopted ones, to be supported by them until death. These adopted ones also, in the same way, get their share of the agricultural lands, if children of the adopting pair have been born. And if they have got no children, all property will naturally belong to the adopted son. Mostly such childless people take in sons as adopted ones.

[178] Now and then they have taken in real adopted ones. When formerly — it is now some three scores of years ago — there was an insurrection, then they adopted many. At the present time they also now and then adopt. Nowadays, since the European missionaries
597 have come, these show mercy to orphans. Rather, these European teachers are like claimants
797 following up and finding their rice-lands and other lands. This is a righteous act much greater than everything else they do. They are teaching them knowledge at their own expense. They do not seek to be supported until death like us; they are rather themselves supporting others.

c. Wife's children taken in.

428 When a man takes a second wife, and she brings with her children, viz., of her former husband, we call such children saṅgha lọṭọm (taken in by wife's second marriage). If
587 they are boys, these children have no right to get the stepfather's agricultural lands and so on. But the stepfather will with pleasure procure land and a homestead field for such a one from the village headman, giving money of his own household as salami. And when the remarried woman has any earnings of her own, these belong to the children she has brought with her. But for keeping it in safe custody, she will give the uterine brothers a portion; otherwise they have no right to it.

d. Taking possession on settling.

421 If any one after having done some planting of trees runs away, and the headman of that village settles a man who has come running there, in the run-away man's agricultural land and homestead field, then if there are Mahua trees or water-reservoirs, etc., in that homestead field or in the village street outside the house or in the unit of land, the new settler gets all, including these. Even if there are heirs of the run-away man in this village, they cannot lay claim to the things mentioned, because the new man has taken possession on settling. And even if the run-away man should sometime return to this village, he will not get these trees or water-reservoirs, etc., even if he lays claim to them at the landlord's door, because that man has taken possession on settling.

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g. To neutralize the effect of an eclipse.

821 428 604 593 To neutralize the effect of an eclipse is done as follows. In a year when an eclipse of the sun or the moon is taking place, a mother of children will say: Do, my sons or daughters, go for us to the family of your maternal uncle to neutralize the effect of the eclipse. If they live in the same village, they go that very day to the family of their maternal uncle. When they have reached there, they say: We have come, uncle, to neutralize the effects of the eclipse. They say to them: All right, my boy (or my girl). Now the mother of these children has brewed beer and takes this to her father's house; and they drink this, pouring some out as a libation. If her father is living, he says to her: What is it, my girl, that you have in mind and have brought? If her father is not living, her brothers will also ask her in the same way. She then says: You remember, your nephews or grandchildren came to neutralize the effets of the eclipse; it is in connexion with this that we have come. Now if the old man is alive, he calls all the boys together. If he is not alive, the brothers come together and consult each other. And they give them a fowl or a goat or a sheep or a pig. If these multiply, then only these children have a right to this property because the wives of all the sons fetch this eclipse-neutralizing from their father or brothers. Therefore the heirs on both sides have no right to get anything of the possible increase of these. Only of their own accord the brothers of both sides may give the children a bull- or a heifer calf. They say that formerly, when the cows or the sheep or goats multiplied in the home of a wife's father, and the girl was bringing this live stock from there to her husband's home, then the bonga of her father's home would also come along. Then if this bonga did not return, her husband would have to worship the bonga of the old home of his wife. [769]

h. About harvest perquisites.

• 421 562 The harvest perquisites are as follows: When a man's daughter, while unmarried, gets harvest perquisites, her father and brothers will lend her perquisites to somebody at 50 pct. And when these perquisites increase, and from this also cattle multiply, then at the time when her husband brings to his home what has multiplied in the old home of his wife, the bonga of some people will also, it is told, follow together with this property. Therefore some people do not let what they have remain there for a long time, fearing that the bongas will come along. And when anyone marries them, also the brothers of the husband have a right to the harvest perquisites property. But then the father and the brothers of the girl will call out to get a higher brideprice; because they say: We are sending with this our daughter or sister, or: what she owns, half our household. Therefore we shall take a higher brideprice, and of this you will not get anything in return. And when she acquires harvest perquisites after having become a widow or been divorced and this increases, then, in case friends apply for her and she is remarried, this woman alone has

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authoritative right to the increase mentioned, because this is her property, that of her husband or her children. The brothers or heirs of her new husband have no right to this. But if both of them have no descendants when they die, then the heirs are the true claimants to the goods of these two.

1. About cumaṇ.

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The cumaṇ is as follows: When a man procures a wife for his son, then the elder sister of this young man, or his younger sister, or his paternal uncles, or his mother's brother's wife, or elder or younger female cousins will put a rupee in the bridegroom's brass-plate at the waving ceremony at the marriage. This they call the cumaṇ rupee. And for this they point out a calf to the girl. If there is any increase from this calf, or it is turned into money, paddy, or rice, this the children of this woman only will get. The heirs of her husband will not get anything. And if she dies without having had children, it will naturally belong to the heirs.

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105 182 431 being an evidence of fraternal virtues of co-operation.

105 181 421 836 Although ideas of individualism have saturated the Santal social fabric and they now own private property, and have personal ownership over many things, communistic ideas in origin can be easily traced in the custom which allows all bachelors of the tribe to have free access and intercourse with the unmarried girls of the tribe barring of course customary prohibited degrees and relations.

105 593 Evidence of discipline in family life can be easily noticed. Their heads of families are held in great esteem and their commands are carried out [611] respectfully. Although the family is patrilineal and patripotestal, the mother has her natural voice in the family-life and women, notwithstanding all their legal disabilities, have their moral rights assured.

105 181 582 Nowhere is the democratic authority of the appointed guardians of the tribe in better evidence than in the cases of marriage regulations. It is in the administration of these that we can see the will of the Santals finds fullest play. We have seen in the foregoing pages how clan-incest is detested and how the erring ones undergo penance and restored to the tribe. [623] It is the tribal council, the sacred repository of all customs and traditions, that main-[684] tains intact the tribal solidarity and purity by out-casting the man and woman who have become

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The organization which binds groups of villages together is loose by comparison with the village system. The Santals distinguish between the various sections of the country in which their villages are situated, calling them *parganas*. Each *pargana* has a distinctive name, which may be either the name of a village situated within its borders or a general name. Over each of the *parganas* a *parganath* is supposed to have jurisdiction. McAlpin's report, the result of an inquiry instituted by the Bengal Government which led to the Tenancy Amendment Act of 1918, in addition to its main purpose of suggesting measures for the protection of Santal lands, dealt also with the condition of the Santal village system. McAlpin reported that the *pargana* system was far gone in decay, and it is not possible to question his conclusion. Binu Hāsdāk' of Tantidanga, late *parganath* of the Sarenga area, was typical of his class. His mind was well stored with the customary law of the tribe, and from time to time he was called in by nearby villages to help more particularly with disputes arising out of marriage tangles. He was personally popular and had some prestige as the possessor of valuable remedies against sickness, but on his own confession his authority was of a very limited kind. "What can I do", he once said, "unless the people of the village are agreed?" There is the crux of the situation; in the village, public opinion is a wellnigh irresistible force. Binu used, nevertheless, to go happily about his errands, for among other advantages which accrued he received a fee amounting to one rupee four annas when a guilty party was fined.

Kinship ties share with the well-knit village system the governance of the Santal's daily life, regulating his relationships with his fellows. The tribe is divided into clans, and each clan is again divided into sub-clans. The clan descends through the father, and when girls marry they are taken into the clans of their husbands. The clans have a totemistic basis and they are exoganous. Land is conceived of as belonging to the clan. Although individual and family ownership is now the rule, Santals will not countenance the transfer of land from one clan to another. The one exception for which allowance is made has been forced on them by economic necessity; it occurs in the case of a man without sons who brings his daughter's husband into his own house to carry on the cultivation, the son-in-law thereby acquiring rights in the property for descendants. The rights conferred by Hindu personal law on daughters in the property of their fathers or on wives in the property of their

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421 562 [177] husbands are strenuously resisted by the Santals, and the fact that the civil courts administer the Hindu laws of succession leads to many cases of tension. In practice, certain rights are conceded to women for "humanitarian" reasons. To daughters who do not marry—a rare but not unknown phenomenon—and to widows, with or without children, the right to maintenance is given. Since the woman on marriage becomes a member of another clan, the succession to land cannot be carried through her. [614] [425]

602 577 Ties of kinship determine standards of behaviour to a great extent. Life in community is an art to be learnt, and the Santal has his own rigid standards of right conduct. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is one of deep intimacy and affection, which is no doubt fostered by the necessity for leaving the young children with the grandparents when both parents have to go out to work. The rules governing familiarity and its converse, avoidance, are based on kinship ties. The joking relationship, apart from grandparents and grandchildren, extends to his wife's younger sisters for a man and to her husband's younger brothers and her elder sister's husband for a woman. People within the circle of this relationship can talk freely with one another, indulging in jokes and calling each other names. Conversely, extreme care is called for in relationships which do not fall within this circle. A Santal child must behave with great respect to anyone who belongs to the same generation as his parents. Names are sparingly used between individuals, and relationship terms are the usual form of address. Husband and wife will on no account use each other's names, in distinction from the Hindu taboo, which is enjoined on the wife only. They behave circumspectly towards each other in public. A woman has to carry herself with care before her husband's elder brother. Her dress must at all times be properly arranged in front of him; she cannot sit with her legs dangling over the edge of a bed or the low veranda running round the house, her hair must be arranged, and she does not talk to him at all apart from the necessities of daily life. The rules extend to the finer forms of courtesy. Every Santal knows what is expected of him when he is meeting relatives—whether he has to make a deep obeisance to the ground before the person he has met, or whether he should wait for the other person to greet him first and then acknowledge the greeting by cupping his hands together and raising them towards his chest. A greeting between equals is performed by means of a

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